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THE GRAECOSTASIS OF THE ROMAN FORUM AND  
ITS VICINITY

BY

CHARLES JAMES O'CONNOR

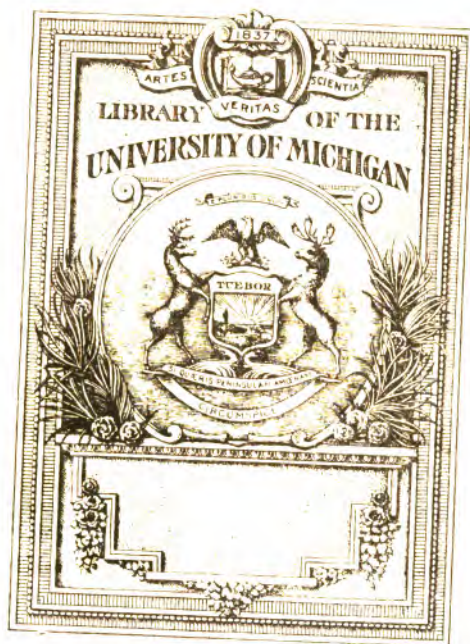
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## TABLE OF CONTENTS.

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	Page
Introduction .....	159
Configuration of the ground .....	160
Public shows .....	160
Site of the Graecostasis .....	162
Fragment of the Marble Plan .....	165
Origin and use of the Graecostasis .....	166
The Athenaeum .....	170
The Gymnasia .....	171
The Site of the Athenaeum, the Velabrum .....	176
The Hemicycle and the Tribunal Aurellum .....	178
The Rostra of Caesar .....	182
The early Rostra .....	183
The Columna Maenia .....	188
Maeniana .....	190
The Senaculum .....	192
The low arcade of eight arches .....	194
Table of references .....	197
Bibliography .....	200

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## THE GRAECOSTASIS OF THE ROMAN FORUM AND ITS VICINITY.

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In or near the Comitium of the early city of Rome were several monuments—the Curia Hostilia, Rostra, Graecostasis, Senaculum, and Columna Maenia—known to us only from the mention of them in ancient writers, and for that reason difficult to locate with exactness. Although at first glance the passages which refer to these monuments seem to be sufficiently definite in their statements, further study shows that they are somewhat puzzling, so that while topographers agree in placing the structures within a limited area they do not agree upon the arrangement within this area. The conjectural scheme of Richter (*Topographie der Stadt Rom*, taf. 9) is nearly the same as that of Huelsen (*Formae Urbis Romae Antiquae*, Map III; also *Mittheilungen des Kaiserlichen Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts; Römische Abtheilung* 1893 p. 79 ff.), given in fig. 1. In these the Rostra, Graecostasis, and Senaculum are considered as forming part of the boundary line between Forum and Comitium. Gilbert (*Geschichte der Stadt Rom in Altertum* III, p. 139) locates the Graecostasis at the northeast corner of the area Volcani, the most western point of the Comitium, and the Rostra at the eastern point (cf. II, p. 74). Although these schemes, especially Huelsen's, have been generally accepted as approximately correct, it seems to me that they do not conform to all of the conditions, and that a radically different arrangement is required and further that these buildings can be located with considerable precision. The conclusions about to be stated in regard to them were reached by keeping constantly in mind during the interpretation of the classical passages which bear upon the matter the configuration of the ground and the probable course of develop-



ment of these monuments as it would be shaped by practical considerations of convenience and necessity. The position and form of the early Comitium, Curia, and Rostra were as much a process of growth as the civil institutions which they represent, and were not the creation of one man or one group of men.

#### THE CONFIGURATION OF THE GROUND.

At the west end of the Forum valley the low ground was terminated in primitive times by the lowest shelf-like slope of the Capitoline, which is marked roughly by the Temple of Saturn, the Hemicycle, the Arch of Septimius Severus, and a line about midway between the Carcer and the Church of S. Martina. The Carcer seems to be a little farther from the edge than the other structures mentioned. In front of the Tabularium the shelf was wider owing to the depression between the two summits of the hill. It was along this terrace, outside of the fortifications of the several hills, that the three races of the early city met on neutral ground and gradually formed a common government at the same time that they were trading with each other in the middle of the valley and performing common religious ceremonies at the eastern end. Here were erected the first buildings needed for government, a shelter for the lawmakers, open air tribunals for the judges and executive officers, and a prison. When the Tiber was in flood the water came up to this slope, covering the area of the Forum and Comitium and preventing all business there for days at a time. On such occasions business had to be transferred to the higher ground, and it is natural to suppose that as many as possible of the buildings needed for the more important functions of government were placed upon the higher ground out of the reach of floods. Moreover, the use of this low region from the earliest times for assemblies of the people, elections, and public shows must have made it desirable to keep it as free as possible from permanent obstructions. Perhaps this is the reason why so many of the tribunals were movable.

#### PUBLIC SHOWS.

From the beginning, the Forum and Comitium were used for spectacles of all kinds, religious ceremonies and pageants, mili-

tary reviews, triumphal processions, gladiatorial combats, *venationes*, theatrical representations, and the like. Even long after the erection of circuses and amphitheatres the Forum was a favorite place for the games. This had considerable influence upon the arrangement of the Forum and surrounding buildings. Vitruvius (V, 1, 1) says that the arrangement of the fora followed in Greek cities should not be employed in Italy on account of the custom of giving gladiatorial shows in the forum:

a maioribus consuetudo tradita est gladiatoria munera in foro dari igitur circum spectacula spatiosiora intercolumnia distribuuntur circaque in porticibus argentariae tabernae maenianaque superioribus coaxationibus conlocentur.

Caesar, during his aedileship, in providing for the shows, ornamented the Comitium, the Forum, the surrounding basilicas, and even the Capitolium with porticoes built for the occasion, as related by Suetonius, *Iul.* 10:

aedilis praeter Comitium ac Forum basilicasque etiam Capitolium ornavit porticibus ad tempus extructis, in quibus abundante rerum copia pars apparatus exponeretur.

The Forum was the most common place for certain shows, such as wild beast hunts and fights of gladiators even under the first emperors:

Mon. Ancyr. 4, 39: *venationes bestiarum Africanarum meo nomine aut filiorum meorum et nepotum in circo aut in foro aut in amphitheatris populo dedi.*

Suet., *Aug.* 43: *non in foro modo, nec in amphitheatro sed et in circo et in Septis.*

Suet., *Tib.* 7: *munus gladiatorium in memoriam patris et alterum in avi Drusi dedit, diversis temporibus ac locis, primum in foro, secundum in amphitheatro.*

Additional evidence is afforded by the passages below the pavement of the Forum, which Boni thinks were used in connection with the shows, and by the sockets in the margin of the pavement which held either the post of the barrier required during *venationes*, or masts from which awnings were stretched. During the great exhibitions every available foot of space around the Forum must have been occupied by the spectators who crowded the steps, porticoes, and roofs of all the buildings. The slope of the Capitoline was an excellent place for spectators, and its lower

part, from the Temple of Saturn to the Carcer, was in time converted into a more or less continuous platform resembling both a stage and the podium of an amphitheatre and serving both purposes by turns, for it is clear that the best place from which to view the games and to address the people was along this terrace. In other words, the center of interest was now in the Forum, as during the wild beast shows, now on the Rostra and higher places, when an orator spoke or a play was presented. Doubtless there were many occasions every year when these platforms were used for spectacles because they could be seen by the crowd in the Forum as well as by the more favored spectators.

And along this slope, too, we should look for the road which doubtless went about the foot of the hill. This, coming from the Campus Martius and corresponding in general direction to the modern Via di Marforio, passed immediately in front of the Carcer. In front of the Temple of Saturn it forked, one branch going below the temple and continuing as the Vicus Iugarius, the other ascending the hill as the Clivus Capitolinus. This has been given the name Clivus Argentarius on the supposition that it is the street mentioned in *Mirabilia Romae* 25. From very early times there was a steep path or stairway ascending from where the Arch of Severus is to the neighborhood of the Temple of Juno Moneta, from which it took its name, Gradus Monetae. These two thoroughfares determined the outward form of the Carcer.

#### THE SITE OF THE GRAECOSTASIS.

With the foregoing considerations in mind we may now examine the evidence contained in ancient authors.

Varro, *L. L.* V 155 and 156: Comitium ab eo quod coibant eo comitiis curiatis et litium causa. curiae duorum generum, nam et ubi curarent sacerdotes res divinas, ut curiae veteres, et ubi senatus humanas, ut Curia Hostilia, quod primum aedificavit Hostilius rex. ante hanc Rostra, quibus loci id vocabulum, quod ex hostibus capta fixa sunt rostra. sub dextra huius a Comitio locus substructus, ubi nationum subsisterent legati, qui ad senatum essent missi, is Graecostasis appellatus a parte ut multa. Senaculum supra Graecostasim, ubi aedis Concordiae et basilica Opimia,

Senaculum vocatum, ubi senatus aut ubi seniores consisterent, dictum ut gerusia apud Graecos.

From this we learn that the Graecostasis was below the Temple of Concord and that it was built up at the edge of the Comitium, for a *comitio substructus* does not mean built in the middle of level ground.

Pliny, *N. H.* XXXIII (6) 19: Flavius vovit aedem Concordiae si populo reconciliasset ordines, et cum ad id pecunia publice non decerneretur, ex multaticia faeneratoribus condemnatis aediculam aeream fecit in Graecostasi, quae tunc supra Comitium erat, inciditque in tabella aerea factam aedem CCIII annis post Capitolinam dedicatam, ita CCCCLVIII a condita urbe gestum est.

This shrine was built 305 B. C., and was probably in the area Concordiae near the temple (cf. Richter, *Top.* p. 79, who makes the date 304.) The words *quae tunc supra Comitium erat* may mean that the Graecostasis was not in its original position in Pliny's time, or that the place was no longer called by that name, or that the space below it was no longer called Comitium. It is apparent from Pliny that the Graecostasis was an open area like the Area Concordiae:

Pliny, *N. H.* VII (60) 212: tertius consensus fuit in horarum observatione iam hinc ratione accedens. quando et a quo in Graecia reperta, diximus secundo volumine. serius etiam hoc Romae contigit. XII tabulis ortus tantum et occasus nominantur, post aliquot annos adiectus est et meridies, accenso consulum id pronuntiante cum a Curia inter Rostra et Graecostasim prospexisset solem, a Columna Maenia ad Carcerem inclinato sidere supremam pronuntiavit, sed hoc serenis tantum diebus, usque ad primum Punicum bellum.

This passage will be discussed later.

Julius Obsequens, *de prod.* 83 (22), for the year 137 B. C.: in Graecostasi et Comitio sanguine fluxit. *ibid* 91 (29), for the year 124 B. C.: in Graecostasi lacte pluit. *ibid* 87 (26), for the year 130 B. C.: Romae in agro cortasi lacte pluit (*agro cortasi* is generally corrected to *graecostasi*).

From the last three passages it appears that the Graecostasis adjoined the Comitium and like the latter and the Volcanal was an open *area*.

Cic., *ad. Q. fr.* II, 1, 3: *deinde eius operae repente a Graecostasi et gradibus clamorem satis magnum sustulerunt.*

This refers to the disturbances of the Clodian faction in 57 B. C., and indicates that the Graecostasis was near the senate house. The *gradus* mentioned here cannot be identified. They may have been the Gradus Aurelii of the Tribunal Aurelium or the Gradus Monetae or the steps in front of the senate house.

CIL. I p. 298 (Fasti Pinciani—about a. u. c. 724):

For August 23 C VOLC NVOLCANO  
for August 24 D CLVNAE INGRAECOST  
for August 25 E

This shows that the name Graecostasis (or Graecostadium) was in use about 30 B. C., and was applied to an *area* where there was an altar or shrine.

P. Victor, *Regio VIII*: Comitium, tabernae novae, Cloacinae templum, columna cum statua M. Ludii, Graecostasis, aedis Opis et Saturni . . . cohortes VI vigilum, aedicula Concordiae supra Graecostasim, lacus Curtius.

This is of little value because it is apparently taken from Varro as quoted above.

Several passages cited by writers have nothing to do with the monument in question:

Plut., *de soll. anim.* 19, 5, which mentions a temenos that was called the agora of the Greeks; Cic., *ad Q. fr.* II 11 (13); Cic., *in Verr.* II 1, 90; and Pseudo-Ascon. on the same. The last three merely refer to the custom in accordance with which during the month of February daily audiences were granted by the senate to envoys from the provinces.

An examination of the ground below the Temple of Concord shows that two sites are possible for the Graecostasis if it was a platform or area of considerable extent, one where the Hemicycle is, the other to the north of that and immediately northeast of the early monument which has been identified as the altar of the Volcanal. Although the Area Volcani was reduced in extent from time to time, the altar, at least, would have been kept free at the time when the Graecostasis was first used. The Hemicycle was at the edge, not of the Comitium, but of the Forum, and in other ways it fails to meet the requirements, as will appear later;

therefore the Graecostasis must be placed between the Temple of Concord and the Arch of Severus, immediately adjoining and nearly parallel to the latter. Archaeologists have generally put it in the neighborhood of the arch. Before proceeding to establish the claims of the other site it is necessary to consider a fragment of the Marble Plan of the city which has been preserved in copy.

#### THE FRAGMENT OF THE MARBLE PLAN.

This fragment (Jordan, *Forma Urbis Romae*, n. 19) has been taken by some to represent the Graecostasis. But there is little reason for believing this. It represents the steps and portico of a temple or a similar building with which the letters RECAST have nothing to do. (cf. Jordan, *Top.* I 2 p. 244.) The position of the letters with reference to the building and the difference between the form of this building and that of the Graecostasis as we must conceive of it makes the connection improbable. I believe that the letters of this fragment are not part of the word *Graecostasis*, but of some such word as *reconstructus* or *reconstitutus* which was applied to a building or district which had been rebuilt or rearranged. *Constructus* (CIL. XII 4311) and *constitutus* (CIL. X 5348) are both used frequently, and by analogy we can assume *reconstructus* and *reconstitutus*. For the latter I can find no parallel, but *reconstruo* is used in late Latin by Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus, *variar.* 2, 39. The omission of *n* before *s* has many parallels in inscriptions, as *castresis* for *castrensis* (CIL. 2185) and *Costantius* (*ibid.* 8022), and is far less difficult to explain than the spelling *Greco* for *Graeco*. Irregularities of spelling are numerous in the plan, such as *Minerbae* (Jord., Tab. I), *balneum* and *balineum* (Tab. II). The word may have been applied to some of the rebuilding and rearranging which followed the fire of Nero. The phrase *vicus laci restituti* (Bas. Capit., *reg.* 14, 18) suggests one way in which it may have been applied. Assuming that the plan inscribed on the fragment in question is that of a temple or similar building we are at a loss for a place in the Forum to which to assign it.

According to the practice followed in inscribing names on the Marble Plan the temple must have faced north or west, or some intermediate point. The portico seems to have been octostyle and

nearly as wide as that of the Temple of Castor. There is no space immediately about the Forum for a building of such size and such orientation, consequently the fragment is eliminated from the problem.

#### ORIGIN AND USE OF THE GRAECOSTASIS.

Concerning the origin and use of this structure information is furnished by two passages:

Varro, quoted above, says that it was a place where foreign ambassadors who had been sent to the senate had their station, and that it got its name from the Greek envoys. The theory (cf. Gilbert II p. 74) that envoys waited at the Graecostasis until they were admitted to the senate house has no foundation. The Latin of Varro's statement will not bear such an interpretation, for the phrase *ad senatum missi* does not mean, *admitted into the senate house*, but *sent to Rome*. Moreover, we should hardly expect such a waiting place to be open and unsheltered, as the Graecostasis evidently was, and so far from the senate house. Ambassadors were carefully provided for and entertained (cf. the phrase *locus et lautia*).

Valuable information is given by Justinus 43, 5, 10: *Parta pace et securitate fundata revertentes a Delphis Massiliensium legati, quo missi munera Apollini tulerant, audiverunt urbem Romam a Gallis captam incensamque, quam rem domi nuntiatam publico munere Massilienses prosecuti sunt aurumque et argentum publicum privatumque contulerunt ad explendum pondus Gallis, a quibus redemptam pacem cognoverant, ob quod meritum et immunitas illis decreta et locus spectaculorum in senatu datus et foedus aequo iure percussum.*

Even if this account, which is discredited by some scholars (cf. Ihne, *History of Rome* V p. 83), is not entirely accurate, it at least gives a clue to the solution of the problem. Greek ambassadors at Rome at an early date were granted a place either among or near the senators from which they could view the public shows. Mommsen advanced this theory (*History of Rome* Bk. II, ch. 7; also *Staatsrecht* III I, p. 597 and 2, p. 1154) and accepted the account of Justinus as true. Among the shows would be included those of a dramatic character, but *locus spectaculorum* cannot be restricted to the theatre, since there were no permanent theatres.



at that time, the beginning of the fourth century, and the drama was of less importance than other forms of entertainment. Doubtless most of the dramatic performances were given in the Forum, and in a place where they could be seen from the customary seats of the senators, envoys, and other favored spectators. A brief discussion of the practice involved will be of service in making the matter clearer.

The terms *spectacula*, *gradus spectaculorum*, *locus spectaculorum* were applied to the seats of the Circus, Forum, and other places of amusement as well as to the theatre (cf. Cic., *pro Mur.* 34, 72; Tac., *Ann.* XIV 13; Livy I 35, 8). Special sections of seats, *loca senatoria*, separate from the rest of the people, for Tarquinius Priscus, if we may believe the account of Livy (I 35, 8) who says that in the circus, later called Maximus, space was assigned to the patres and equites where they built their respective *spectacula*. The same author (XXXIV 44, 5 and 54, 6) states that in 194 B. C. the senators were greatly pleased to have their seats, *Loca senatoria*, separate from the rest of the people, for before that they had been seated promiscuously. The statement is made only for the circus, during the Ludi Romani. The same change is referred to by Cic., *Fragm.* VII 25 *pro Cornelio*, and Asconius on the same:

P. Africanus ille superior dicitur . . . accusatus esse quod, cum consul esset cum Ti. Longo, passus esset tum primum a populari consessu senatoria subsellia separari.

Augustus added further regulations for seating various classes (Suet., *Aug.* 44). In the theatre the senators were assigned to the orchestra, and *in senatu* was a phrase equivalent to *in orchestra* (cf. Suet., *Nero* 12; *Claud.* 25).

There are a few passages from ancient authors which inform us of the treatment of legati. Augustus took away from them the privilege of sitting in the orchestra:

Suet., *Aug.* 44; Romae legatos liberarum sociarumque gentium vetuit in orchestra sedere, cum quosdam etiam libertini generis mitti deprendisset.

That this privilege was restored is evident from the statements of other writers. In this connection it is worth while to notice a story related by Tacitus (*Ann.* XIII 54). During the reign of Nero some German ambassadors, while being personally conducted about Rome, were taken into the Theatre of Pompey as one

of the famous sights. Not understanding what was going on upon the stage they asked their guides questions about the audience and were told where the various orders sat. Then, noticing some foreigners who sat in the seats of the senators, and learning that this honor was granted to the legati of those nations which excelled in worth and friendship toward Rome, they naively went and took seats among the senators, remarking that none excelled the Germans in valor and fidelity. Suetonius (*Claud.* 25) tells a similar story of the reign of Claudius. Probably it was a stock story told to fit various occasions. However, it is authentic enough so far as it indicates the practice followed in the theatre. For other places of entertainment there was a similar custom. Dio Cassius (LXVIII 15) tells of the splendid shows given in 107 A. D. when Trajan returned to Rome. The games lasted 123 days, during which 11000 wild beasts and 10000 gladiators took part. The envoys from barbarian countries sat among the senators to view the spectacles. Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* XIV 10, 6) quotes a decree of Julius Caesar whereby is granted to Hyrcanos and his children and to the ambassadors sent by him, the right to sit among the senators while viewing the contests of gladiators and the wild beast shows. The passages just cited, especially the last, confirm the view of Mommsen that the Massilian ambassadors were granted a place from which to view the public shows of the Forum. Middleton (*Remains of Ancient Rome* I p. 237) thinks that the Graecostasis was the platform on which foreign ambassadors stood to hear the speeches from the Rostra and the Comitium. There must have been public functions upon the Rostra during which representatives of foreign states had places either upon the Rostra itself or near by.

It seems reasonable, taking into account the facts set forth and the fact also that there was hardly a better place from which to watch the various spectacles than that which has been fixed upon for the Graecostasis, to conclude that Varro and Justinus refer to the same thing. Since a large part of the lower Capitoline slope must have been reserved for senators, officials, and the families of men who had been honored by special reservations there, it was necessary to have a space reserved and ready for strangers of importance. There is no evidence to indicate that this place was a portico or covered building. If its use and position are correctly stated above it must have been merely an open platform, since a

portico would have obstructed the view from a considerable portion of the Capitoline slope. We can say, then, with considerable confidence that the Graecostasis was an uncovered, elevated platform like the Rostra, that it was near the boundary line between the Forum and Comitium, facing these in the manner shown in fig. 3 rather than in fig. 1.

#### THE GRAECOSTADIUM.

The nature and site of the Graecostadium are difficult to determine. It is mentioned in only four passages, all written as late as the fourth century A. D. It is named in the regionary catalogues:

*Curiosum*: milarium aureum, vicum iugarium, Gr(a)ecostadium, basilicam Iuliam.

*Notitia*: milarium aureum, basilicam Iuliam, templum Castorum, Graecostadium, Vestam.

Julius Capitolinus, *Ant. Pius* 8:<sup>1</sup> opera eius haec extant: Romae templum Hadriani, honori patris dicatum, Graecostadium post incendium restitutum, instauratum amphitheatrum, sepulchrum Hadriani, templum Agrippae, pons sublicius.

*E chron. antiq. excerpta*,<sup>2</sup> Urlichs, *Codex Topographicus* p. 191f: (of Carinus and Numerianus) his imper. fames magna fuit et operae publicae arserunt: senatum, forum Caesaris, patrimonium (corrected by Preller to atrium Minervae), basilicam Iuliam et Graecostadium.

There is a temptation to consider the monument in question the Graecostasis of the empire (cf. Richter, *Top.* p. 98), and it is possible that when the late Rostra of *opus quadratum* was built, the Hemicycle, which then became a part of the Rostra, received the name Graecostadium and was used for similar purposes as the first structure (cf. Nichols, *Roman Forum*, p. 185, and Jordan, *Top.* I 2 p. 243). One objection to this view is that it implies a building that would have obstructed the view and could be damaged by fire, both of which conditions are unsuited to what we know of the Graecostasis. Besides, it is named along with impor-

<sup>1</sup>This emperor reigned from 138 to 161 A. D., the earliest date for this building, at least under this name, furnished by our sources.

<sup>2</sup>This account was compiled in 334 A. D. according to Mommsen. The events related are of the years 283-284 A. D.

tant buildings, an honor which it hardly would have deserved. Moreover, we wonder how an institution of such early date and of such a purpose could pass unmentioned from the reign of Augustus to that of Antoninus Pius, some two hundred years, and then be mentioned as if it were an important structure still in use.

Topographers have tried to put it in various places at the west end of the Forum, but with unsatisfactory results. If we accept the testimony of the regionary catalogues, the only direct evidence we have, we must place it south of the Basilica Iulia between the Vicus Iugarius and the Vicus Tuscus, for both catalogues, and the chronicle excerpts also, give it in connection with the Vicus Iugarius, Basilica Iulia, and Temple of Castor. A solution of the problem of its origin and use is suggested by the passage from the life of Antoninus Pius quoted above.

The name looks like one given to a stadium or similar structure modelled after the Greek, the form of the word being influenced, possibly, by *graecostasis* and similar compounds. When we look for the author of such foreign structures we naturally think of Hadrian. But among the buildings of Hadrian there is nothing mentioned by that name. There is, however, a building with another name which can be identified with it by circumstantial evidence, namely, the Athenaeum.

#### THE ATHENAEUM.

From Spartianus (*Hadrianus* 2, 7, and 19) we learn that this emperor was excessively fond of hunting, often watched gladiatorial shows, furnished splendid exhibitions of gladiators and wild beasts—even in the stadium at Athens—and in almost every large city of the empire gave festival games. He manifested unusual interest in athletic contests, even to the extent of renewing the Olympian games and instituting at Athens a new national festival, with games at stated intervals, called Panhellenia (cf. Gregorovius, *The Emperor Hadrian* p. 140 ff.). Along with the theatres, baths, and circuses which he erected in many of the cities around the Mediterranean, he built gymnasia, among them one at Athens. That the Athenaeum which he built at Rome was one of these Greek gymnasia seems probable. Gregorovius (p. 376), in giving an account of the public buildings erected by

Hadrian, says that Spartianus "overlooked the Greek gymnasium or Athenaeum, whose site is unknown." The connection is indicated by likeness of use and of structure. It was a place for the recitals of poets and rhetoricians:

Capitolinus, *Alex. Sev.* 35: ad Athenaeum audiendorum et Graecorum et Latinorum rhetorum vel poetarum causa frequenter processit.

Emperors often listened at these:

*idem, Pertinax* 11: Pertinax eo die processionem, quam ad Athenaeum paraverat, ut audiret poetam, ob sacrificii praesagium distulisset.

Youths received training in disputation here:

*idem, Gordianus Prim.* 3: postea vero ubi adulevit, in Athenaeo controversias declamavit audientibus etiam imperatoribus suis.

Other passages are:

Sidonius Apollinaris II 9, 4: videre te crederes aut grammaticales pluteos aut Athenaei cuneos aut armaria exstructa bybliopolarum. *idem* IX 14, 2: dignus omnino, quem plausibilibus Roma foveret. ulnis quoque recitante crepitantis Athenaei subsellia cuneata quaterentur.

Hieronymus, *Comment. in Epl. ad Galatas Lib. III, cap. V*: omisssaque apostolicorum simplicitate et puritate verborum quasi ad Athenaeum et ad auditoria convenitur ut plausus circumstantium suscitentur. *idem, Epl.* 66 n. 9: meminisse te puto erroris mutui, quando omne Athenaeum scholasticorum vocibus consonabat.

#### THE GYMNASIA.

The Roman gymnasia, some of which were attached to private houses, while others were public buildings, were introduced from Greece and were used primarily for training youths after the Greek fashion, physically as well as mentally. The public gymnasia were also used for festivals and games, and some were large enough to hold assemblies of the people:

Spartianus, *Carac.* 6: inde Alexandream petit, in gymnasium populum convocavit eumque obiurgavit.

Vitruvius (V II) under the name *palaestra* gives the plan of the gymnasium as constructed by the Greeks, probably the same plan which was followed, with slight modification, by the Romans. The part which is concerned in the question before us is as follows:

in *palaestra* *peristylia*, quemadmodum supra scriptum est, ita debent esse perfecte distributa. extra autem disponantur porticus tres, una ex *peristylis* exeuntibus, duae dextra atque sinistra *stadiatae*, ex quibus una quae spectaverit ad septentrionem perficiatur duplex amplissima latitudine, alterae simplices ita factae uti in partibus quae fuerint circa parietes et quae erunt ad columnas, margines habeant uti semitas non minus pedum denum mediumque excavatum uti gradus sint in descensu a marginibus sesquipedem ad planitiem, quae planities sit non minus pedes XII. ita qui vestiti ambulaverint circum in marginibus non impediuntur ab unctis se exercentibus. haec autem porticus *xystos* apud Graecos vocitatur, quod athletae per hiberna tempora in tectis *stadiis* exercentur. proxime autem *xystum* et duplicem porticum designentur *hypaethroae* ambulationes, quas Graeci *paradromidas*, nostri *xysta*, appellant, in quas per hiemem ex *xysto* sereno caelo athletae prodeuntes exercentur. faciunda autem *xysta* sic videntur ut sint inter duas porticus silvae aut *platanones* et in his perficiantur inter arbores ambulationes ibique ex opere signino stationes. post *xystum* autem stadium ita figuratum ut possint hominum copiae cum laxamento athletas certantes spectare.

Plans of the gymnasium thus described are given in Daremberg and Saglio's dictionary and in Peck's. My conception of it is slightly different, as shown in fig. 2. If the parts were symmetrically arranged the axis of the group must have run north and south. In that case, if Vitruvius had the *palaestra* at the south and the stadium at the north, the two double porticoes would have been back to back in the middle of the group, an arrangement that would have afforded the greatest warmth, which was the object of the double portico. If he adopted the opposite orientation, the double portico of the *palaestra* was at the entrance, that of the central court adjoined the stadium. In fig. 2 the first arrangement is followed.

The *palaestra* consisted of an open court surrounded by a *peristyle* which was double on the side facing the south. Back of

the peristyle were rooms for athletes and students, such as the various parts of the bath, rooms for special exercises, and *exedrae* for discussions. Beyond the palaestra was another court called *xystum*, it seems, from the fact that *xysta* (or *xysti*) were the essential parts of it. This had a double portico facing the north. On each side, at right angles to it, there was a single portico called *stadiata*, that is, one used for walking and running. To prevent those who were walking along the portico from being jostled by those who were running, the running track was sunk a foot and a half below the floor of the portico. The raised walk thus left between track and wall on one side, and track and colonnade on the other, was to be not less than ten feet wide, and the sunken track not less than twelve. Whether twelve feet was the minimum for a single stretch of the track or for both is not clear. Probably there was some sort of *spina* down the centre which kept the runners from interfering with each other. The ends must have been curved like those of the stadium for the convenience of both walkers and runners. Perhaps a practice followed in private gardens and porticoes was followed here, and the tracks and walks were so arranged that a certain number of laps made an exact mile, or stadium, if the Greek measure was used. In accordance with the proportions of fig. 2, two laps of the running track would make a stadium and sixteen would be about a mile. The middle of the court was planted with trees and intersected with walks, and was separated from the porticoes by an uncovered walk for use in fair weather. Beyond the *xystum*, or central part of the building, that is at right angles to the single porticoes and running tracks, was the stadium, large enough to hold a considerable number of spectators with comfort. In accordance with the purpose of the gymnasium, the stadium was doubtless used for public exhibitions of both intellectual and athletic accomplishments, while the daily training for these took place in the palaestra and *xystum*. In a public gymnasium such as the Athenaeum is here assumed to be, the stadium would have even greater proportional importance than in the private establishment. The gymnasia were schools of Greek type and the Athenaeum was also a Greek school. Dio Cassius (73, 17) says that it received its name from its use as a school. Aurelius Victor (quoted below) calls it a school after the Greek manner.



Aside from the similarity of structure implied in similarity of use there is the evidence contained in the passages from Sidonius, given above. *subsellia cuneata* and *Athenaei cuneos* indicate that there was a place where a large number of auditors could sit and that this was a curved *cavea* divided into wedge shaped sections like those of the theatre, circus, and stadium, which must have been true of the stadium attached to the gymnasium of Vitruvius. Now the semicircular recess in a straight wall, which was derived from the theatre and on account of its utility applied to other buildings, was popular among the Romans, appearing in the tribunal of the basilica, the apse of the temple and church, the theatrelike extension of the baths, and the circuit walls of the imperial fora. But in the case of the Athenaeum this architectural element, to judge from the passages cited, seems to be something larger than a semi-circular exedra. It appears to be either a theatre or stadium. If the Athenaeum was a gymnasium, then according to the plan of Vitruvius there should have been a stadium annexed, one with both ends curved for the sake of preserving symmetry in the composite building.

The hypothesis that *Graecostadium* was another name for the Athenaeum fulfils all the conditions. Hadrian's passion for adorning cities with public buildings, especially libraries, baths, circuses, and gymnasia has been mentioned, as well as the fact that at Athens he built a splendid gymnasium (Pausanias I 18, 9). Before this Athens had its famous gymnasia like the Academia and Lyceum, and it is not strange that such an institution should be transplanted to Rome by an emperor who imitated these along with other Greek institutions in his private villa.

Spart., *Hadr.* 26: Tiburtinam villam mire exaedificavit ita ut in ea et provinciarum et locorum celeberrima nomina inscriberet, velut Lycium, Academiam, Prytanium, Canopum, Picilem, Tempe vocaret. Aurelius Victor (*de Caes.* 14) makes a clear statement concerning this matter:

Hadrianus, Graecorum more, caerimonias, leges, gymnasia, doctoresque curare occoeperat, adeo quidem, ut etiam ludum ingenuarum artium, quod Athenaeum vocant, constitueret.

In the stadium on the Palatine, brick stamps of Hadrian's time are found. Middleton (I p. 210) says that this was begun by Domitian but built in large part by Hadrian. Neither Athenaeum

nor Graecostadium is mentioned till after his reign, and the latter is first mentioned among the restorations made by his adopted son and successor (cf. Capit. *Anton. P.* 8 above). Antoninus Pius was of the right temperament to have especial regard for a building like the Athenaeum and to look carefully after the works of his father:

Spart. *Anton. P.* 4: *congiarium populo de proprio dedit et ea, quae pater promiserat. et ad opera Hadriani plurimum contulit.* His successor also would have cared for such a building, and encouraged its use. To the character of the institution is due the fact that it, or representatives of it, existed till the sixth century. Like the circus and theatre its name was used to illustrate rhetorical speech (cf. Sidonius and Hieronymus, quoted above).

The use of two names for the same building was not unusual. In this case those who wrote in Greek naturally used *Athenaeum*. *Graecostadium* may have been applied because the stadium was the most conspicuous part of the structure or was considered the most important part. It is to be noticed that Vitruvius speaks of the Greek *xysta* as the *tecta stadia* and *porticus stadiatae*, and further, that he gave the whole building the name of one part, the palaestra. Others may have given it the name of another part, the stadium. That it was called the Greek stadium was natural since it was a peculiarly Greek institution and its function distinguished it from other stadia.

The name Athenaeum was given by Dio Cassius (LI, 22) to an earlier building which he mentions in connection with the Chalcidicum and Curia Iulia. Here *Athenaeum* seems to be a translation of *atrium Minervae*.

The site determined above for the Graecostadium is adapted to such a building as the Athenaeum. A place near the Forum was desirable for the sake of convenience and sentiment. The entrance was probably toward the Basilica Iulia. According to the proportions used in fig. 2 there would have been room for one with a stadium from 125 to 150 meters long, outside measurement. Gilbert (III p. 337), following Preller, thinks it not improbable that the Athenaeum was on the Capitoline, on the evidence of an edict of Theodosius and Valentinian (*Codex Theodosianus* XIV 9, 3). But, as Jordan (I 2 p. 61) points out, this edict refers to men at Constantinople, not at Rome. The position which seems to me most probable is shown in fig. 3.

## THE SITE OF THE ATHENAEUM, THE VELABRUM.

Of the topography of the valley lying between the Capitoline and Palatine we have little knowledge. There are a few passages (Ovid, *Fasti* VI 405, Prop. V. 9, 5, Tibull. II 5, 33, Varro, *L. L.* V 43 and 44) which refer to the marsh which once existed there, and a few (Hor., *Sat.* II 3, 229, Mart. XI 52, Plaut., *Curc.* 483, *Capt.* 489) which refer to the shops and booths found there. From the latter and from those which describe processions (Livy XXVII 37, Suet., *Nero* 25) we might conclude that the word Velabrum came to be applied to a street or row of shops near the Vicus Tuscus rather than to the whole valley. A hint of the structures which may have been here is contained in Suetonius (*Iul.* 44) who seems to refer to a temporary theatre:

in primis Martis templum, quantum nusquam esset, extruere, repleto et conplanato lacu, in quo naumachiae spectaculum ediderat, theatrumque summae magnitudinis Tarpeio monti accubans.

A similar hint is contained in the description of the wooden amphitheatre which Nero built in 56 B. C.

Calpurnius, *Ecl.* 7, 23:

vidimus in caelum trabibus spectacula textis  
surgere, Tarpeium prope despectantia culmen  
immensosque gradus et clivos lene iacentes

Although the position of the Tarpeian cliff, close to which these two places of amusement stood, has been assigned by various topographers to nearly the whole circuit of the Capitoline, one particular part is clearly entitled to the honor. Like *Capitolinus*, the adjective *Tarpeius* was sometimes loosely applied to the whole hill, but in the same way also it was often restricted to a small part nearly identical with the site of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (cf. Varro, *L. L.* V 41 and 42). The exact location of the cliff is certain if we can have faith in four passages from Dionysius Halicarnassus. In one (III 69) he states that this was selected as the site for Tarquin's temple to Jupiter and that it was a hill overhanging the Forum and was later called *Capitolinus*. This is practically repeated in the second passage (IV 60 and 61). In two other places (VII 35; VIII, 78) he states that the cliff overhung the Forum and that the condemned men were sent over the precipice in full view of all. These executions, perhaps, were the most dreadful and thrilling of all the

spectacles which the people in the Forum witnessed. The descriptions of the theatre *Tarpeio monti accubans* and the amphitheatre with seats *Tarpeium prope despectantia culmen* lose most of their force if made to apply to any part of the hill except this celebrated spot. I think that both buildings were in the Velabrum.

Two passages which contain accounts of Nero's amphitheatre afford some ground for placing it in the Campus Martius:

Suet., *Nero* 12: munere, quod in amphitheatro ligneo regione Martii campi intra anni spatium fabricato dedit, neminem occidit, ne noxiorum quidem.

Tac., *Ann.* XIII 31: Nerone iterum L. Pisone consulibus pauca memoria digna evenere, nisi cui libeat laudandis fundamentis et trabibus, quis molem amphitheatri apud campum Martio Caesar extruxerat, volumina implere, cum ex dignitate populi Romani repertum sit res inlustres annalibus, talia diurnis urbis actis mandare. *apud campum Martis* according to the usage of Tacitus might be interpreted in the *Campus Martius*, but we have an equal right to interpret it in the neighborhood of. It will be noticed that Suetonius speaks of the building with the same lack of exactness, *regione Martii campi*, in the neighborhood of the *Campus Martius*. I think that both historians writing many years after the disappearance of the temporary structure and using the same source of information, which may have been as indefinite as their own statements and of which Tacitus speaks with a tone of contempt, had no definite idea of its position but thought that it might be somewhere near the group of places of amusement which existed in the Campus Martius. But in the immediate vicinity of the Capitoline on the side toward the Campus Martius there was hardly room for an amphitheatre so large as this seems to have been. The space was occupied by the Septa, Circus of Flaminius, Theatre of Marcellus and several porticoes and temples.

On the other hand the practice followed by the Romans in the matter of games and sports leads us to look for traces of these in the Velabrum where, just as in the case of the Forum and the Circus Maximus, the slopes and edges of the enclosing hills afforded convenient places for spectators. This valley connected the valley of the Forum Romanum with that of the Forum Boarium in both of which games were given. In a similar de-

pression between the Aventine and Palatine from the earliest times were held the games which developed into the *Ludi Circenses*. In the basin formed by the Esquiline, Caelian, and Palatine was the artificial lake known as *stagna Neronis* where *naumachiae* were probably given by the emperor. For his amphitheatre Nero could not have found a more suitable place than the Velabrum. Domitian, also, when the Flavian amphitheatre replaced the Stagna Neronis and made wooden amphitheatres like that of Nero unnecessary, may very well have chosen the site of the latter for the *naumachia* where he exhibited sea fights in 91 A. D.

Concerning this *naumachia* we learn from Dio Cassius (XLVII 8) that it was not in the usual place for such buildings. Suetonius (*Domit.* 4 and 5) informs us that it was near the Tiber and that later stone was taken from it for repairing the Circus Maximus:

edidit navalis pugnas paene instarum classium effoso et circumstructo iuxta Tiberim lacu. (5) excitavit . . . stadium et odium et naumachiam e cuius postea lapide maximus circus, deustis utrimque lateribus extructus est.

There was no available place for this lake, at the same time near the Tiber and near enough to the Circus Maximus to permit the transportation of stone from one to the other with any advantage, except the Velabrum. Other possible sites were the western and northern parts of the Campus Martius, the district south of the Aventine, and the Transtiberine region, all of them too far from the Circus Maximus. If my proposition that the Velabrum was the site of several successive structures, temporary in character and devoted to games, is reasonable, then we have in Hadrian's Athenaeum a national continuance of the tradition of the region. At the same time this explains the lack of information regarding buildings here and the possibility of erecting the Athenaeum so near the Forum without sacrificing important structures.

#### THE HEMICYCLE AND THE TRIBUNAL AURELIUM.

The result of my study of the curved terrace at the back of the Rostra, which is generally called the Hemicycle for convenience, has been published in the *American Journal of Archaeology* (IV

p. 303 ff.), but a repetition of some parts of the article will be useful at this point. In it I offered the conjecture that the Hemicycle was the Tribunal Aurelium, built by Gaius Aurelius Cotta about 75 B. C. Some writers on topography have located this tribunal near the temple of Castor, giving an unwarranted interpretation to a passage from Cicero (*pro Sestio* 15, 34):

isdemque consulibus inspectantibus servorum dilectus habebatur pro tribunali Aurelio nomine collegiorum, cum vicatim homines conscriberentur, decuriarentur, ad vim, ad manus, ad caedem, ad direptionem incitarentur. isdemque consulibus arma in templum Castoris palam comportabantur, gradus eiusdem templi tollebantur, armati homines forum et contiones tenebant.

It was evidently a permanent tribunal, not one of the movable wooden tribunes, as some have thought. It is commonly identified with the Gradus Aurelii mentioned by Cicero as reminding him of a theatre during the trial of C. Junius in 74 B. C. At this time these were new. During the trial they were filled with the defendant's enemies, who tried to intimidate the judges and the counsel for the defense:

Cic., *pro Cluen.* 34, 93: Gradus illi Aurelii tum novi quasi pro theatro illi iudicio aedificati videbantur; quos ubi accusator concitatis hominibus complerat, non modo dicendi ab reo, sed ne surgendi quidem potestas erat.

A similar use was made of the steps during the trial of Flaccus. It is not clear whether the trial occurred in the tribunal proper or the presiding judge's seat was outside of it, but yet so near the Gradus Aurelii that the pleas could be heard from them, where a mob had collected in order to influence the decision by well timed demonstrations. Cicero says that he will speak so as to be heard no farther than the judges:

Cic., *pro Flac.* 28, 66: sequitur auri illa invidia Iudaici. hoc nimirum est illud, quod non longe a gradibus Aureliis haec causa dicitur. ob hoc crimen hic locus abs te, Laeli, atque illa turba quaesita est; scis quanta sit manus, quanta concordia, quantum valeat in contionibus. sic summissa voce agam, tantum ut iudices audiant; neque enim desunt, qui istos in me atque in optimum quemque incitent; quos ego, quo id facilius faciant, non adiuvabo.

The trial if Milo took place in a tribunal so near the temple of

Saturn that Pompey could sit in the portico of the temple or upon the approaches and listen to the trial.

Asconius in *Milonem* 41 (148): primo die datus erat in Milonem testis C. Causinius Schola. . . . quem cum interrogare Marcellus coepisset, tanto tumultu Clodianae multitudinis circumstantis exterritus est, ut vim ultimam timens in tribunal a Domitio reciperetur. quam ob causam Marcellus et ipse Milo a Domitio praesidium imploraverunt. sedebat eo tempore Cn. Pompeius ad aerarium perturbatusque erat eodem illo clamore: itaque Domitio promisit se postero die cum praesidio descensurum, idque fecit. qua re territi Clodiani silentio verba testium per biduum audiri passi sunt. . . . dimisso circa horam decimam iudicio T. Munatius pro contione populum adhortatus est, ut postero die frequens adesset et elabi Milonem non pateretur iudiciumque et dolorem suum ostenderet euntibus ad tabellam ferendam. postero die . . . clausae fuerunt tota urbe tabernae; praesidia in foro et circa omnis fori aditus Pompeius disposuit; ipse pro aerario ut pridie consedit saeptus delecta manu militum . . . Cicero cum inciperet dicere exceptus est acclamatione Clodianorum, qui se continere ne metu quidem circumstantium militum potuerunt. itaque non ea qua solitus erat constantia dixit.

This was the situation when Cicero addressed Pompey in a voice loud enough to be heard by him:

Cic., *pro Milone* 25, 67: non iam hoc Clodianum crimen timeamus, sed tuas, Cn. Pompei (te enim appello, et ea voce, ut me exaudire possis) tuas, inquam, suspiciones perhorrescimus.

The Tribunal Aurelium was an important one and was probably in this part of the Forum and may have been the one in which Milo was tried in 52 B. C. The only spot where this tribunal could have stood is that now occupied by the Hemicycle. The few steps still in position on the inner side of this remind one of those of a theatre. The pictures drawn by Cicero at the beginning of his speech for Milo (1, 1) and in a sentence in the *Brutus* (291) fit this spot very well.

"A satisfactory hypothesis must account for the curved form of this structure, and if we assume that these are the Gradus Aurelii, we have such an explanation. The wall and steps were given this curvature because it was a convenient form and one



often used in enclosing the tribunals of basilicas and in theatres. The steps may have served as seats for the witnesses and privileged spectators. Cicero (quoted above) says that the partisans of the accuser filled the steps and crowded about the defendant. In the trial of Milo, perhaps, they were occupied by the judges, who were fifty-one in number. At a later time they may have served as steps to the Rostra. The curved wall would have afforded a firm support for the honorary statues which were erected behind the Rostra."

So far as the construction of the Hemicycle and its relation to adjoining structures are concerned, there is nothing to indicate that it is either earlier or later than the date of the Tribunal Aurelium, 75 B. C. It was built before the Rostra in front of it and before the so-called Umbilicus Romae, since both of these have cut off a part of it.

"In conclusion, the so-called Graecostasis is a structure well adapted, by its theatre-like form, to the use of a tribunal; it is in a part of the Forum where we might reasonably expect to find an important one; it stands where such a tribunal existed, according to Asconius; it resembles a theatre as did the Tribunal Aurelium, according to Cicero; and its construction shows it to have been in use at about the same time as the Tribunal Aurelium. The fact that no mention is made of the tribunal after 52 B. C. is accounted for by its having become a part of the Rostra."

Another item of evidence in support of these conclusions can now be added, namely, the thickness of the travertine steps (0.28 m.), which is unusual for steps used for ordinary purposes. We can compare with this other measurements.

At Pompeii in the amphitheatre: lower seats 0.30 m., upper seats 0.38 m., steps 0.19.; in the larger theatre: upper seats 0.39 m., steps 0.19 m.; in the small theatre: lower seats 0.26 m., upper seats 0.42 m., steps 0.21 m.

At Tusculum in the theatre seats are 0.30 m. to 0.32 m., and the steps one-half of this. Ordinary steps at Pompeii are from 0.19 m. to 0.22 m., in the Atrium Vestae at Rome 0.22 m. to 0.24 m. It is evident then that these steps are considerably thicker than those used for ordinary purposes, and are of about the same thickness as some found in theatres, which agrees with the theory that these steps of the Hemicycle were used as seats during trials.

The Porta Santa marble with which the front of the Hemicycle is adorned has been a cause of perplexity and has led some to believe that it is of late date, but it can be dated accurately, and can be used as a key to some of the secrets of the Rostra. In the paper mentioned above I called attention to the unusual thickness (0.09 m.) of this marble lining. Now in the Temple of Concord the marble linings are of unusual thickness and of fine material. Porta Santa marble is there used in profusion. It is used in the pavement, and two pieces of remarkable size form the threshold of the cella (cf. Middleton, I p. 335). This suggests that the facing of the Hemicycle was put in place at about the time of the rebuilding of the Temple of Concord, an idea that is confirmed by another structural similarity. A comparison of fig. 15, Middleton I p. 87 with fig. 32 p. 255 shows that the marble veneering was joined to the plinth in the same manner in both structures, that is, the plinth is set back into the concrete and the slab rests upon the center of the block. A less costly and less substantial method is shown in fig. 32 where, in the case of the late Rostra, the back of the plinth is flush with the back of the slab. Since the remains of the Temple of Concord are generally accepted as belonging to the rebuilding made in the name of Tiberius in 10 A. D. (cf. Suet. *Tib.* 20), and since his triumphal arch was erected a few feet from the Hemicycle in 16 A. D., it seems a safe conclusion that the Hemicycle was adorned with the Porta Santa marble at about the same time, approximately 10 A. D., as a part of the reconstruction of this region.

#### THE ROSTRA OF CAESAR.

A glance at the north end of the Hemicycle, where it is cut by the wall of the late Rostra, shows beyond doubt that the former was built first. The Rostra, then, which we see, must have been built some time after 10 A. D., in the age of the Antonines or during the reign of Septimius Severus, I think. The question arises, where was the Rostra before this date? To this there is only one answer, it was identical with the Hemicycle. As late as 52 B. C., possibly later, this was used as a tribunal. Its position and height made it a convenient place from which to address assemblies in the Forum, and it was doubtless used for this purpose; indeed, Aurelius Cotta may have constructed his tribunal

to serve the double purpose of the judge's tribunal and the orator's tribune. The functions performed on the Rostra were not restricted to that place any more than meetings of the senate were confined to the Curia. When Caesar made use of this curved *suggestus* he probably had a precedent for it. Even if it was an innovation it was not a very great one. Such changes as this were due to considerations of convenience and utility, not to subtle schemes for influencing political or social conditions (cf. Vaglieri, *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*, XXXI p. 153). The platform above the steps of the tribunal was hardly wide enough for all of the uses of a rostra and it was probably extended to the rear by filling in the tribunal, thus covering up the steps, the partial preservation of which is thus accounted for. When this was done the place may have ceased to be a tribunal. In that case the trials formerly held there were doubtless transferred to one of the basilicas. It is interesting to know that the Aurelius Cotta who built the Tribunal Aurelium was an uncle of Julius Caesar.

The metal pins which remain in the front of the Hemicycle seem hardly strong enough to have supported bronze beaks unless these were lighter than the ordinary beaks. But it is not necessary to assume that Caesar removed the beaks from the old Rostra; it is more likely that they were left there as long as the platform stood. I am inclined to think that the Rostra Vetera from which Drusus delivered the *laudatio* of Augustus (cf. Suet., *Aug.* 100) was the old Rostra of the Comitium. Both this and the Hemicycle were probably used as tribunes till after the reign of Tiberius. When the former was destroyed or covered up the tribune which superseded it, that of *opus quadratum*, was adorned with beaks in order to preserve the tradition of the name. It is quite possible that the Hemicycle was not called Rostra, although performing the function of one.

#### THE EARLY ROSTRA.

In view of what has been said at the beginning we should expect to find the early tribune somewhere along the border of the Comitium, to the north of the Arch of Severus. The Volcanal or Area Volcani seems to have been used for much the same purposes as the Rostra (cf. Dionys. Hal. II 50; VI 67; VII 17).

The term was applied to the higher ground just above the Comitium (Dionys. Hal. II 50, Aul. Gell. IV 5, Festus, Mueller p. 290) and apparently to the whole terrace from the Temple of Saturn to the Carcer. To that part of it which was most used by officials and orators for addressing the people C. Maenius in 338 B. C. fastened the six beaks of ships taken at Antium (Livy VIII 14, 12, Florus I 5, 11). Thereafter this particular part of the Volcanal had a distinctive name. Just a hundred years before this the spot had been selected for honorary statues to the legati killed at Fidenae (Livy IV 17, 6). At that time there may have been a simple *suggestus*. The use of the word *templum* as applied to the Rostra (cf. Cic., *de imp. Cn. Pomp.* 24, 70) is of little importance so far as the removal of the tribune is concerned. Another *templum* could have been inaugurated; possibly the Rostra *templum* was only a part of the greater *templum* of the Volcanal.

Additional evidence that the Rostra was at the edge of the low ground and formed part of the terrace, is contained in the accounts of the passage of the Agrarian Laws (cf. Mommsen, *History of Rome*, IV p. 511, English ed.). These accounts are confused and confusing but are, nevertheless, useful. There is a reference to the affair in Cic., *in Vatinius* 9, 21: (addressing Vatinius) *volo uti mihi respondeas, cum M. Bibulum consulem . . . in vincula duceres et a Tabula Valeria collegae tui mitti iuberent, fecerisne ante rostra pontem continuatis tribunali-bus, per quem consul populi Romani moderatissimus et constantissimus, sublato auxilio, exclusis amicis, vi perditorum hominum incitata turpissimoque spectaculo non in carcerem, sed ad supplicium et ad necem duceretur.*

The consulship of Bibulus here referred to was in the year 59 B. C. when Caesar was his colleague, the year, also, of the tribuneship of Vatinius, an adherent of Pompey and Caesar. The chief opponents of the latter in their efforts to force the passage of the laws were Bibulus and Cato. In spite of the legal and religious obstacles interposed by Bibulus, the leaders of the popular party managed to get the matter before the people for a vote. On the day of the voting Pompey had great numbers of soldiers in the Forum with their weapons concealed. Two accounts are given of the riot which occurred:

Dio Cassius, XXXVIII 6, relates that while Caesar was haranguing the crowd from the front of the Temple of Castor, Bibulus tried to speak from the same place but was thrust down the steps, the fasces were broken, and some of the tribunes were wounded.

Appian, *B. C.*, II 11, whose account is better, says that Bibulus entered the Forum while Caesar was still haranguing the people. In the disorder which followed blows were given and the armed partisans of Caesar broke the fasces of Bibulus and wounded some of the tribunes who were with him. Bibulus, untterrified, bared his throat and made a dramatic appeal (without doubt in full view of everyone) to Caesar to slay him. But his friends led him away to a neighboring temple of Jupiter. Then Cato, forcing his way into the midst, tried to speak, but was lifted up by Caesar's followers and carried off. Making his way unnoticed back to the Rostra by a different way, he tried to speak again. When no one would listen, he shouted abuse at Caesar until he was picked up and carried away again.

From these passages it appears that Cato and Bibulus and the tribunes had access to the Rostra from one side while the rest of it was surrounded by the mob of their opponents who pulled them down off the tribune. This agrees with the theory that the Rostra was close to the Clivus Argentarius. When Cato escaped from the crowd he perhaps went around between the Curia and Basilica Aemilia and got back to the Rostra by this street. As for Bibulus, in the assumed position of the Rostra, we have an explanation of the words of Cicero addressed to Vatinius, *ante rostra pontem continuatis tribunalibus*. Vatinius and his fellows, not daring to make the attempt from the higher ground of the terrace, which was probably occupied mainly by the optimates, had some of the wooden tribunals of the Comitium shoved up to the Rostra and, using these as the agger was used in taking walled cities, stormed the Rostra and carried the consul back into the crowd. Bibulus' thirst for spectacular resistance having been satisfied, he retired with his friends to the temple.

In these three passages there is lack of harmony in regard to an important point. Cicero refers to the old Rostra, Appian to a Rostra near the Temple of Jupiter Stator (if we follow the accepted text), and Dio Cassius to the steps of the Temple of

Castor. Now the manuscripts of Appian have τοῦ κτησίου Διός. This reading, because, I suppose, Dio Cassius puts the incident before the Temple of Castor and because the correction was so easy that it was hard to resist, has been corrected by editors to τοῦ στήσιον Διός. The change is unwarranted for it is at variance with the facts of the case, while the manuscript reading is entirely in accord with them. The words of Appian and Cicero both refer to the old Rostra of the Comitium. Dio Cassius, whose account is otherwise less accurate than that of Appian, has been led into error, possibly, by the knowledge that the Temple of Castor had been the scene of former riots. So far as the site of the Temple of Jupiter Stator is known, it can hardly be said to be near the Temple of Castor. By the Temple of Ζεὺς κτήσιος Appian meant that of Jupiter Conservator, or Custos. Among the Greeks there was a Ζεὺς κτήσιος (cf. Aesch. *Supp.* 445), the protector of house and property, and by his name Appian naturally translated *Iuppiter Custos*. We need look no farther for the temple of this god, in order to justify the manuscript reading, than the temple on the Capitoline which Domitian built:

Tac., *H.* III 74: ac potente rerum patre disiecto aeditui contubernio, modicum sacellum Iovi Conservatori aramque posuit casus suos in marmore expressam; mox imperium adeptus Iovi Custodi templum ingens seque in sinu dei sacravit.

Suet., *Domit.* 5: novam autem excitavit aedem in Capitolio Custodi Iovi.

Doubtless there was a temple, or at least a shrine, here before Domitian's time. Suetonius, in the sentence preceding the one quoted, says in regard to the restorations of Domitian that the dedications were all made in his own name without mention of the former builder. All of this seems like trustworthy evidence in support of the arrangement here advocated.

The statement of Dio Cassius (XLIII 49) that the Rostra was in the middle of the agora, ἐν μέσῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, may mean that it was in the middle of one side. It could hardly have been out in the middle of the open area because in that case it must have faced two ways, toward the Comitium and toward the Forum, so that the phrases *ante Rostra*, *post Rostra*, *sub dextra huius* would have been ambiguous; then too, the speaker would have been in the midst of the crowd, an unsatisfactory arrangement. Besides

this, at the time when a speaker's platform was first used it would not have been in a conspicuous place if in the middle area, for the surface of the Comitium was very much below the present level:

Pliny, *N. H.* XXXIV (11) 24: *in qua legatione interfecto senatus statuam poni iussit quam oculatissimo loco eaque est in Rostris.*

Any permanent structure in this region would have been in the way during assemblies of the people and during public games, hence most of the tribunes used by officials were movable. In this connection I wish to hazard the conjecture that the destruction of the monuments under the Lapis Niger may have been done at an early date to make room for the public business of the region. Perhaps these were erected by the last of the Tarquins, and after his expulsion, when the people met more often and in greater numbers, they were not restrained by respect for him or his work from destroying these so far as they projected above a new level of the Comitium pavement. This would account for the remarkable preservation of the friable tufa stele. The fact that votive offerings and other material of the various centuries were not stratified does not stand in the way of the theory, for Maxentius, or whoever laid the pavement of black stone, may have been led by his manifest interest in antiquities to explore the monuments which he so carefully marked, causing the mingling of deposits of various periods.

To determine the precise location of the Rostra it is necessary to interpret the passages from Varro and Pliny quoted above. Varro says that the Graecostasis was at the right of the Rostra, that is, if the site of the former has been correctly determined, the Rostra was farther along the terrace nearly in front of the Carcer. Pliny says that midday was announced when an observer at the Curia saw the sun between the Rostra and the Graecostasis. These objects would not have been chosen for such an observation if they had been far from the line of vision (cf. Gilbert, I p. 74), nor at greatly different distances from the observer, so that we are brought to the same conclusion again. Furthermore this passage enables us to locate the early Curia with some definiteness. If a meridian line which passed between the Rostra and Graecostasis also passed through the Curia, the latter



must have been close to the Clivus Argentarius.<sup>1</sup> The distance to the north of the Rostra is harder to determine, but it was probably not great. Cf. Ascon., in *Milon*. 12:

erant enim tunc Rostra non eo loco quo nunc sunt, sed ad Comitium, prope iuncta curiae.

There is no information to indicate from what part of the Curia the midday observation was taken.

All of the evidence leads to one conclusion, that the early Rostra was southeast of the Carcer, northeast of the Graecostasis, and not far from the latter, being separated from it, perhaps, only by the width of the Gradus Monetae.

#### THE COLUMNA MAENIA.

The same passage from Pliny cited above enables us to determine approximately the position of the Columna Maenia. We are told that the *accensus consulum* announced the *supremam horam* when the sun had sunk from the Columna Maenia to the prison. The observation was made from the same place as that for midday, i. e. the Curia. The movement of the sun here described is from the zenith toward the horizon, hence the column was directly south of the point of observation or on the line which passed from that between the Rostra and Graecostasis. Perhaps *inter Rostra et Graecostasim* and *supra Columnam Maeniam* were synonymous terms as used in this connection. It is not essential to the present discussion to determine the precise meaning of *supremam* in this passage. Whether it means three o'clock or five would depend upon what part of the prison was used for the observation.

Pliny (*N. H.* XXXIV (11) 20) speaking of the antiquity of honorary columns mentions one erected to L. Minucius in 439 B. C., one to C. Duilius in 260 B. C., and the Columna Maenia:

sicuti C. Maenio, qui devicerat priscos Latinos . . . .  
eodemque in consulatu in suggestu rostra devictis Antiatibus fixerat. (cf. also Livy VIII 14).

Livy (VIII 13) relates that Camillus and Maenius received

<sup>1</sup>It is worth while to notice, by the way, that there are considerable discrepancies in the published maps of the Forum in regard to directions, and to the relation of buildings; for instance, Richter's last map, p. 106, has two serious errors in the region under discussion.

a triumph, and in addition equestrian statues, an unusual honor for that time, were erected to them in the Forum. It is doubtful whether this column supported an equestrian statue (cf. Richter, *Top.* p. 85 and Jordan, *Top.* I 2 p. 345). Possibly there was more than one statue of Maenius as there was of Attus Navius, or there may have been confusion as to the identification of these statues in the time of Livy and Pliny. At any rate this was a small statue, only three feet high (Pliny, *N. H.* XXXIV (II) 20-24). I think that it is more likely that Livy has assigned to both consuls an honor granted to Camillus alone, the consuls receiving different and appropriate monuments. A few passages from ancient writers tend to prove the correctness of the conjecture as to the location of the column. From a story told by Aulus Gellius (IV 5) about a statue of Horatius Cocles we learn that the high ground about this region, for instance the Area Volcani, was a position of greater honor than the low parts. The *triumviri capitales* had their tribunal and inflicted punishment at a column which was doubtless the Columna Maenia (cf. Cic., *pro Cluen.* 13, 39; in *Caecil. Div.* 16, 50 and Pseudo-Ascon. on the same; *pro Sestio* 8, 18). Such a tribunal would naturally be near the chief prison. In another passage of the *pro Sestio* (58, 124) Cicero indicates that it was in full view of the whole Forum and the Capitoline slope, and that it was near the Rostra. He relates that in 57 B. C. Sestius, at that time tribuns plebis, proved his popularity by surrendering himself to the people, choosing a dramatic moment when they were assembled about the Forum to witness some games:

venit, ut scitis, a columna Maenia, tantus est ex omnibus spectaculis usque a Capitolio ex fori cancellis plausus excitatus, ut, etc.

We know from several passages, and from the Rostra relief of the Arch of Constantine that the Rostra was the favorite place for honorary columns and statues, and as this column of Maenius was one of special importance it can with considerable certainty be placed either upon the Rostra or just at the rear of it, between it and the Carcer.

## MAENIANA.

The site of the column is involved in the question of the derivation of the word *maeniana*. It is barely possible that the connection between *maeniana* and *Maenius* is no closer than that between *tullianum* and *Servius Tullius*. But such an origin of the term is generally accepted (cf. Richter, *Top.* p. 80), although with divergence of opinion as to the manner in which it came into use. One explanation is drawn from the commentaries of Porphyrio and Pseudo-Asconius. The former commenting on the profligate Maenius of Hor., *Sat.* I 3, 21 says:

hic fertur, domo sua quam ad Forum spectantem habuerat divendita, unam columnam sibi excepisse unde gladiatores spectaret quae ex eo Maenii Columna nominabatur.

Pseudo-Ascon. on Cic. in *Caecil. Div.* 16, 50.

Maenius cum domum suam venderet Catoni et Flacco censoribus ut ibi basilica aedificaretur, exceperat sibi ius unius columnae, supra quam tectum proiceret ex provolantibus tabulatis, unde ipse et posterius eius spectare munus gladiatorium possent, quod etiam tum in Foro dabatur . . . fures et servi nequam, qui apud triumviros capitales apud columnam Maeniam puniri solent. They have, perhaps, been misled by a statement in Livy (XXXIX 44):

Cato atria duo Maenium et Titium in lautumiis et quattuor tabernas in publicum emit basilicamque ibi fecit quae Porcia appellata est,

and possibly by the event mentioned in Plut., *Cato Minor* 5, to think that the Columna Maenia was a part of the Basilica Porcia. Granting that the atrium Maenium was named after the censor Maenius, (cf. Thédénat, *Le Forum Romain* p. 161) the Basilica Porcia was too far away to permit of any connection between it and the column, and the latter was an honorary column free from any building. We wonder, too, how Maenius constructed his balcony, and why he was permitted to spoil the appearance of the basilica. What is meant in Plut., *Cato Minor* 5 by the column which the tribunes proposed to change or remove because it was in the way of their seats, is not clear. Perhaps the columns of the basilica were too close, or there was an honorary column, one to Cato Maior, for example, which interfered with business. It is safe to say that the Basilica Porcia is not the link which con-

nects Maenius with *maeniana*. A more reasonable account is given by Festus (Mueller p. 135):

*maeniana aedificia a Maenio sunt appellata, is enim primus ultra columnas extendit tigna, quo ampliarentur superiora: and from the schedae apud Laetium: maeniana appellata sunt a Maenio censore, qui primus in Foro ultra columnas tigna proiecit quo ampliarentur supericra spectacula.*

Nearly the same account is given by Isidorus, *Orig.* XV 3, 11:

*Maenius collega Crassi in Foro proiecit materias ut essent loca in quibus spectantes insisterent, quae ex nomine eius maeniana appellata.*

Yet this explanation is open to objections. Such a structure as the *maeniana* was a growth, not the invention of one man. If derived in this way the word would have been used in the singular. There is the objection urged against the first explanation, that the projecting balcony would have been bad architecturally and difficult to construct. There appears to be a clue to the correct explanation in Cicero. In 43 B. C. Servius Sulpicius died in camp while on a mission to Antony, and Cicero proposed, in accordance with custom, to have his statue placed upon the Rostra, and a space of five feet about it reserved for his descendants from which they could view the gladiatorial games. *Cic., Phil.* 9, 7.

*quas ob res ita censeo . . . senatui placere Ser. Sulpicio statuam pedestrem aeneam in rostris ex huius ordinis sententia statui circumque eam statuam locum ludis gladiatoribusque liberos posterosque eius quoquo versus pedes quinque habere.*

The proposal was evidently adopted, for Pomponius (Justinian *Dig.* I 2, 2, 43) records that it existed in his day. It is easy to believe that the practice of reserving a space about a man's statue for this purpose was common in the time of the Republic when so many honorary statues were granted. My theory is that to Maenius and his posterity a space was reserved about his column and statue, and that, because he was the first to receive this honor or because this was an important post of observation, such reserved places came to be called *maeniana*. This view is supported by the restriction of the word to places from which the games were viewed, while similar structures used for other purposes had other names, *pergula*, for example, and this accounts for the plural form of the word, for the reserved space would

have been called in the language of the games *loca Maeniana*, and finally the accounts of the commentators given above point to this very thing, a column reserved for Maenius and his descendants from which they could view the games.

#### THE SENACULUM.

Concerning the use of the Senaculum, which is mentioned by Varro along with the Graecostasis, I can come to no conclusion. A position near the Temple of Saturn is indicated by,

Macrobius, *Saturn.* I 8, 2: (Saturnus) habet aram et ante Senaculum.

Varro, quoted above, says clearly that it was above the Graecostasis and near the Temple of Concord and the Basilica Opimia. A position in that region may be inferred from a corrupt passage in Livy (XLI 27, 7). Festus (Mueller p. 337) calls it *locus senatorum*. Again (p. 347) he says there had been three *senacula* at Rome where the senate met, one where the Temple of Concord then was, between the Capitolium and the Forum:

senacula tria fuisse Romae, in quibus senatus haberi solitus sit, memoriae prodidit Nicostratus in libro qui inscribitur de senatu habendo; unum, ubi nunc est aedis Concordiae inter Capitolium et Forum, in quo solebant magistratus D. T. cum senioribus deliberare, alterum ad portam Capenam, tertium citra aedem Bellonae, in quo exterarum nationum legatis, quos in urbem admittere nolebant, senatus dabatur.

Ashby (*Classical Review* 1902 p. 94) thinks that it was east of the altar of the Volcanal. But too much of that space was occupied by the Graecostasis to leave room for the Senaculum, and the latter would not in that case have been above the former.

Regarding the use of the Senaculum, it is difficult to understand the different institutions to which the word was applied.

Flavius Vopiscus (*Aurelianus* 49) and Aelius Lampridius (*Heliogabalus* 4) tell of *senacula* in which a senate of women met and deliberated upon silly questions and passed ridiculous decrees. Valerius Maximus (II 2, 6) speaks of a *senaculum* which seems to be the one which Varro mentions. Possibly he got his information from Varro. At any rate, he seems to be guessing at the custom described. He describes it as a place where the

senators waited to be summoned into the senate house, which could be done from there without loss of time.

It is possible that the Senaculum of Varro was the Temple of Concord under another name given it because sessions of the senate were so often held there. Parallels for such a usage would be *Capitolium* as applied to the Temple of Jupiter and *aerarium* used of the Temple of Saturn. This view is supported by the peculiar form of the temple, in that it was much broader than deep and had windows. The explanation that this was due to its use as an art gallery and museum is not altogether satisfactory. It is hardly sufficient reason for such a marked departure from the ordinary form of construction. There was room for the accumulating art treasures in other temples not far away which were used for this purpose, such as those of Castor and Pollux, Venus Genetrix, and Mars Ultor. The construction of these was not changed on account of this. It seems better to ascribe this change in form to its use for some other purpose, such as meetings of the senate. Its general ground plan is not unlike that assumed for the Curia Iulia by those who think that this is now represented by the two churches of S. Martina and S. Adriano, but was formerly one building. In this connection we should notice that windows were built in the Templum Sacrae Urbis because it was used by officers of administration and for the safe keeping of records.

Yet on the whole I am inclined to think that the Senaculum of Varro was the open area in front of the Temple of Concord, possibly a survival of the time when the patres met in the open air, and later a place reserved for the senators during the games, just as, at a still later period, the Graecostasis was reserved for ambassadors from abroad. If such was the case the area was bounded on the northwest by the Temple of Concord, on the northeast by the Gradus Monetae, and on the southeast by the Graecostasis and Vicus Argentarius. Perhaps seats were constructed in front of the temple. After the enlargement of the temple by Tiberius, the portico and steps of this would have replaced the seats and served the same purpose.

## THE LOW ARCADE OF EIGHT ARCHES.

Without going into a thorough discussion of the matter, I wish to offer an explanation of the origin and use of the platform of *opus incertum* consisting of eight low arches just back of the Hemicycle. (cf. Richter, *Top.* p. 356; Huelsen, *Ausgrabungen* 1898-1902 p. 13; Vaglieri, *Bullettino Comunale* XXXI p. 155; Ashby, *Classical Review* 1901 p. 87). Since it was covered up by the Hemicycle, that is, the Tribunal Aurelium, it must have been built before 75 B. C. The important place held in the economy of the Forum by spectacles of various kinds has been discussed above, and it may be that the structure in question is connected with them. It might have been used as a stage for dramatic representations, for dances, and the like. But the vaults and the area immediately in front of them must be accounted for, which is not done by supposing that this was a viaduct for the Clivus Capitolinus (cf. Huelsen l. c.) or the Graecostasis (Ashby l. c.) or the Rostra. Boni's conjecture (quoted by Vaglieri l. c.) that this was the tribune of Caesar will not hold if the age of the Hemicycle has been determined correctly above. His further conjecture that the structure was intended to hold water seems reasonable, although the purpose of the water, it seems to me, was not to afford a realistic view of a fleet of ships, but something more practical.

Besides the *venationes* there were exhibitions of animals of various kinds given in various places to excite and amuse the people. The fondness of the Romans for wild animals and their familiarity with them is shown by the many pictures in mosaic and fresco which represent animals, both by themselves and in their native haunts. Pompey is credited with exhibiting the first rhinoceros, and Caesar, the first giraffe (Pliny, *N. H.* VIII (28-29) 70-71). Suetonius says of Augustus (ch. 43):

solebat etiam citra spectaculorum dies, si quando quid invisitatum dignumque cognitu advectum esset, id extra ordinem quolibet loco publicare, ut rhinocerotem apud Septa, tigrim in scaena, anguem quinquaginta cubitorum pro comitio.

The vaults in question may have been used for exhibiting strange animals or those that were going to be let loose in the Forum during the games. The height of the arches would be

suitable for such a use, and the *opus signinum*, and the quarter round molding would make flushing and cleansing easier. This artificial den could have been used as an aquarium or vivarium for showing aquatic and amphibious animals. In the year 58 B. C., Marcus Scaurus showed a hippopotamus for the first time, and along with it five crocodiles, using a temporary tank or canal (Pliny, *N. H.* VIII (40) 96):

primus eum (i. e. hippopotamum) et quinque crocodilos Romae aedilitatis suae ludis M. Scaurus temporario euripo ostendit.

It is not necessary to conclude that crocodiles were seen first on this occasion. They are mentioned here only incidentally (cf. Ammianus XXII 15, 24). Pliny (*N. H.* VIII (38) 94) says of crocodiles:

dicitur . . . quattuor menses hiemis semper inedia transmittere in specu.

Crocodiles would have found these vaults a fair substitute for their native specus. This structure, then, I take to be a vivarium, used by turns, perhaps, for aquatic and land animals.

The water with which it was supplied may have been brought by a pipe from one of the conduits found in front of the Temple of Saturn. That these are not drains, but conduits upon the shelf of which water pipe was laid, I have already shown (*Am. Jour. Arch.* 1901 p. 32). In Richter's map of the Forum they are incompletely and incorrectly represented. They were built previous to the enlargement of the temples of Concord and Saturn. The direction of the conduit which passes under the approach of the Temple of Saturn is toward the row of arches. Even if the vivarium was constructed before these were, it could have been supplied by the earlier pipes which were only a few feet away.

The thought that the low arches in question formed a vivarium leads one to wonder whether the chambers beneath the floor of the late Rostra were not utilized for a like purpose. They were paved with the same "herringbone" pavement which is found in the vivarium, as I understand the descriptions, a pavement which must have resisted water well or it would not have been used in the low part of the Vicus Tuscus between the Basilica Julia and the Temple of Castor. A few animals could have been kept in this convenient place in order to satisfy the popular taste or to



perpetuate some tradition, as today the wolf is kept on the Capitoline.

Although the site of the monuments which have been discussed may never be proved beyond doubt owing to the lack of direct evidence, still, upon the evidence adduced, indirect as most of it is, I believe that the Graecostasis, Athenaeum, Tribunal Aurelium, Columna Maenia, and early Rostra are approximately located as shown in fig. 3, and it seems safe to predict that if any traces of the original Rostra are ever identified they will be found under the modern street within a distance of ten meters north of the Arch of Septimius Severus.

TABLE OF THE MORE IMPORTANT REFERENCES TO  
ANCIENT SOURCES.

Those marked with an asterisk do not relate to the subject for which they are sometimes cited.

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## MAENIUS AND COLUMNA MAENIA

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| Cicero, <i>pro Cluentio</i> 13, 39         |  |
| Cicero, <i>pro Sestio</i> , 8, 18; 58, 124 | Plutarch, <i>Cato Minor</i> 5              |
| Florus 1, 5, 11                            | Porphyrion, in <i>Hor. Sat.</i> 1, 3, 21   |
| Livy, 8, 13; 8, 14; 39, 44                 |  |

## MAENIANA

- |  |                                 |
|--|---------------------------------|
| Festus p. 135 (Mueller)                | Pliny, <i>N. H.</i> 35 (37) 113 |
| Isidorus, <i>Origines</i> 15, 3, 11    | Vitruvius 5, 1, 2               |
| Javolenus Priscus, <i>Dig.</i> 16, 242 |                                 |

## ROSTRA

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| Appian, <i>B. C.</i> 1, 30; 94; 97; 106    | Livy 2, 10; 2, 56; 3, 17; 4, 17; 8, 14;    |
| Appian, <i>B. C.</i> 2, 11; 107; 109       | 8, 33; 8, 34                               |
| Asconius, in <i>Milon.</i> 12              | Velleius Paterculus 2, 61                  |
| Cicero, <i>epl. ad Brut.</i> 1, 3, 2       | Pliny, <i>N. H.</i> 7 (60) 212; 34 (11)    |
| Cicero, <i>de imp. Cn. Pomp.</i> 24, 70    | 20-25                                      |
| Cicero, <i>Phil.</i> 9, 7, 16              | Justinian, <i>Dig. Lib.</i> I 2, 2 Pompon- |
| Cicero, in <i>Vatinium</i> 9, 21           | ius 43                                     |
| Dio Cassius 38, 6; 44, 11; 43, 49; 51,     | Seneca, <i>de ben.</i> 6, 32, 1            |
| 19; 54, 35; 56, 34; 74, 4                  | Seneca, <i>Dial.</i> 2, 1, 3; 6, 15, 3     |
| Diodorus 12, 26                            | Suetonius, <i>Augustus</i> 100             |
| Dionysius Hal. 1, 87; 2, 50                | Suetonius, <i>Iulius</i> 79                |
| Florus 1, 5, 11                            | Suetonius, <i>Nero</i> 13                  |
| Fronto, <i>epl. ad Antoninum Imp.</i> 1, 2 | Varro, <i>L. L.</i> 5, 155                 |

## SENACULUM

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| Festus p. 337, 347 (Mueller)             | Valerius Maximus 2, 2, 6               |
| Aelius Lampridius, <i>Heliogabalus</i> 4 | Varro, <i>L. L.</i> 5, 156             |
| Livy 41, 27                              | Flavius Vopiscus, <i>Aurelianus</i> 49 |
| Macrobius, <i>Saturnalia</i> 1, 8, 2     |  |

## SPECTACULA (ESPECIALLY OF THE FORUM)

- |   |                               |
|---|-------------------------------|
| Appian, <i>B. C.</i> 1, 106               | Suetonius, <i>Caligula</i> 18 |
| Cicero, <i>pro Sestio</i> 58, 124         | Suetonius, <i>Iulius</i> 10   |
| Dio Cassius 53, 31                        | Suetonius, <i>Tiberius</i> 7  |
| Dionysius Hal. 6, 13                      | Vitruvius 5, 1, 2             |
| Ovid, <i>Fasti</i> 6, 403                 | Monumentum Ancyranum 4, 39,   |
| Pliny, <i>N. H.</i> 19 (6) 23; 15 (20) 78 | (Mommsen)                     |
| Pliny, <i>Epl.</i> 2, 1                   |                               |
| Suetonius, <i>Augustus</i> 43             |                               |

## RESERVATION OF SEATS DURING SPECTACULA

- |   |                                       |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| Cicero, <i>pro Murena</i> 34, 72                  | Livy 1, 35; 1, 56; 34, 44             |
| Cicero, <i>Fragm.</i> 7, 25 <i>pro Cornelio</i> , | Suetonius, <i>Augustus</i> 44         |
| from Asconius                                     | Suetonius, <i>Claudius</i> 25         |
| Dio Cassius 68, 15                                | Suetonius, <i>Nero</i> 12             |
| Josephus, <i>Ant. Iud.</i> 14, 10, 6              | Tacitus, <i>Annals</i> 13, 54; 14, 13 |

VOLCANAL

- |                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| Dionysius Hal. 2, 50; 6, 67: 7, 17: | Pliny, <i>N. H.</i> 16 (86) 236; 33 (6) 19 |
| 11, 39                              | Plutarch, <i>Quaest. Rom.</i> 47           |
| Festus p. 290, (Mueller)            | CIL. I p. 298                              |
| Aulus Gellius 4, 5                  | CIL VI, 457                                |
| Livy, 9, 46; 39, 46; 40, 19         |  |

TRIBUNAL AURELIUM AND THE HEMICYCLE

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| Cicero, <i>Brutus</i> 291              | Asconius, in <i>Milon.</i> 41 (148)      |
| Cicero, <i>pro Cluentio</i> 34, 93     | Livy 27, 50                              |
| Cicero, <i>de domo sua</i> 21, 54      | Porphyryon, in <i>Hor. Epl.</i> 1, 19, 8 |
| Cicero, <i>epl. ad Q. fr.</i> II, 1, 3 | Suetonius, <i>Gram.</i> 17               |
| Cicero, <i>pro Flacco</i> 28 66        | CIL. IV, 833-835                         |
| Cicero, <i>pro Milone</i> I, 1; 25, 67 | Orelli-Henzen 3293, 3882, 4548           |

THE VELABRUM AND ITS BUILDINGS

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| Calpurnius, <i>Ecl.</i> 7, 23          | Plautus, <i>Captivi</i> 489                   |
| Cicero, <i>epl. ad Q. fr.</i> 2, 1, 3  | Plautus, <i>Curculio</i> 483                  |
| Cicero, <i>epl. ad Brutum</i> I, 15, 8 | Plutarch, <i>Romulus</i> 5                    |
| Dio Cassius 47, 8                      | Propertius 5, 9, 5                            |
| Dionysius Hal. 5, 36                   | Suetonius, <i>Domitian</i> 4                  |
| Festus p. 77, (Mueller)                | Suetonius, <i>Iulius</i> 37 and 44            |
| Horace, <i>Sat.</i> 2, 3, 229          | Suetonius, <i>Nero</i> 12 and 25              |
| Livy 27, 37                            | Tacitus, <i>Annals</i> 13, 31                 |
| Macrobius, <i>Sat.</i> I, 10, 15       | Tibullus 2, 5, 33                             |
| Martial II, 52                         | Varro, <i>L. L.</i> 5, 43, 44, and 156; 6, 24 |
| Ovid, <i>Fasti</i> 6, 405              | C.I.L. VI, 9184, 9671, 9993                   |

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